

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
THE M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA

# MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN GUJARAT

PRELIMINARY STUDIES IN THEIR  
HISTORY AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Satish C. Misra  
M.A., Ph.D.



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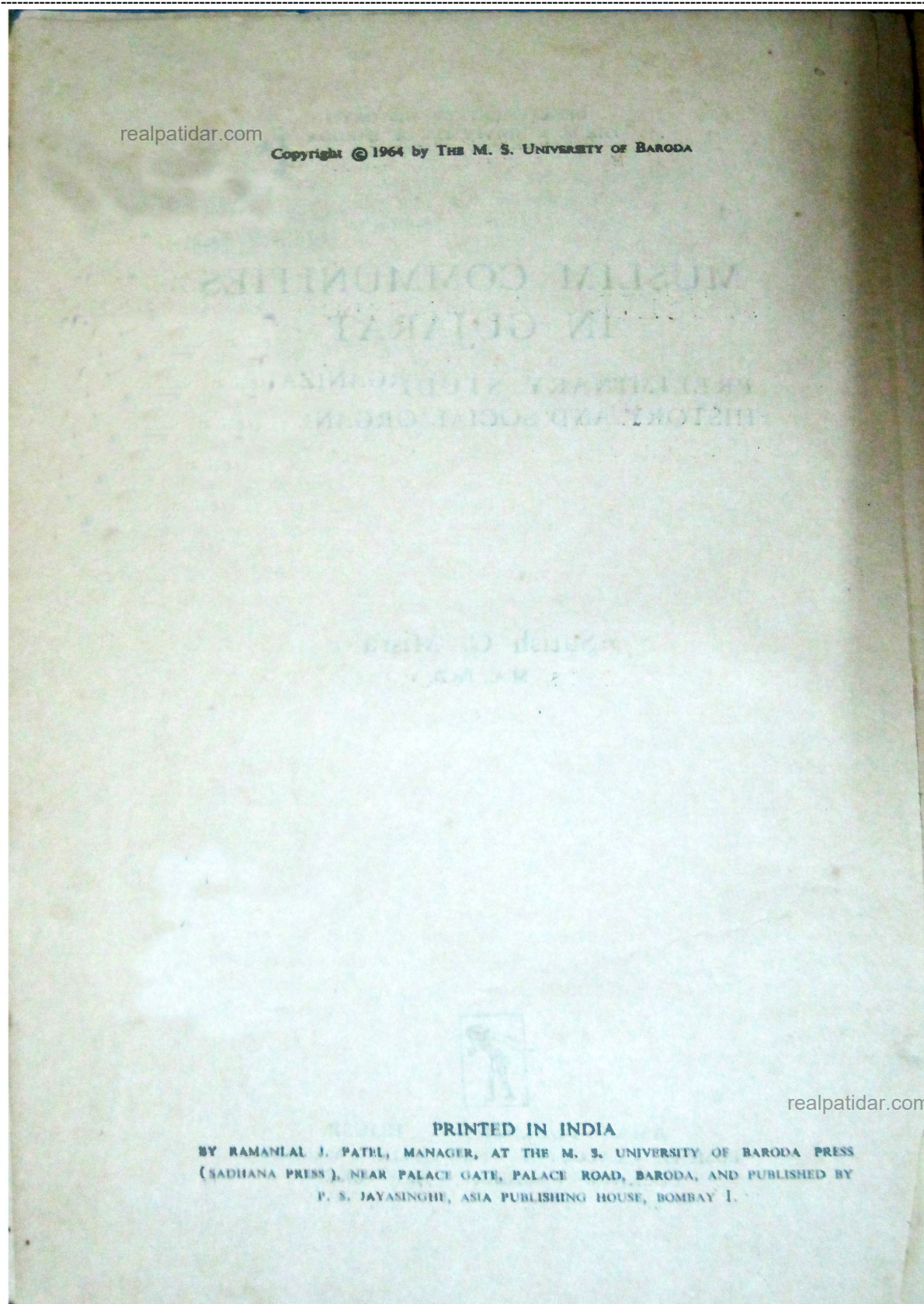
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## FOREWORD

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Dr. Misra deserves to be congratulated for a very painstaking and scholarly piece of research work which he has done on the various Muslim communities which are now found in Gujarat. Dr. Misra's study is not purely historical. It is partly historical and partly sociological.

Long before the Muslim conquest of India, the Arabs had come in close contact with Gujarat because of its geographical position.

Saurashtra and Gujarat being situated on the west coast of India had very early trade and maritime connections with the Arabs. It is believed by some historians that the sudden overthrow of the great Vallabhi power in Gujarat was due to a probable Arab invasion. Even before the conquest of Gujarat by Ala-u-din Khilji, there was already a small Muslim community in Cambay. After the conquest of Gujarat by the Muslims and the subsequent emergence of the Sultanate of Gujarat, a large number of Muslim communities sprang up in Gujarat, some originally of foreign origin and some of indigenous growth.

Dr. Misra has referred to most of these Muslim communities in Gujarat. The Bohra, the Khojah and Memon communities are unique in Gujarat. They are enterprising business men and traders. Dr. Misra has dealt at length with customs, manners, social life and legal institutions of these communities.

It is surprising how Hindu religion has influenced other religions which came to India. The Muslim and the Christian communities in India were influenced by the Hindu caste system and social organization. Customs, manners and outlook on life of these communities have been deeply influenced by Hindu caste organization, manners and customs. Many of the Muslim communities were the result of conversion. They, therefore, embraced the Muslim religion but retained most of the customs and manners of the Hindu castes to which they formerly belonged.

This study shows the toleration of the early Hindu rulers in Gujarat. The early Arabs who came to Gujarat were allowed to set up their mosques and pursue their religion without any molestation.

In one instance, in Cambay, when there was a complaint that the Muslim mosque was damaged by the Hindus, Siddharaj Jayasingha who was then the Ruler of Gujarat personally investigated into this matter. On finding that the complaint was correct, he got the mosque rebuilt at his own expense and gave compensation to the Muslims whose property was destroyed.

Dr. Misra has produced a really first class solid historical study of Muslim communities in Gujarat for which he deserves our felicitations.

J. M. MEHTA,

M.A. ( OXON. ), PH.D. ( LONDON ), BAR-AT-LAW

Vice-Chancellor,

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Baroda-2,  
30-10-1963.

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## PREFACE

Our time craves a philosophy of history, a theory of culture. Generalization is its favourite tool to put a semblance of order into the overwhelming chaos of facts. Inevitably, it must face the danger of restating its insights on the strength of selected data that gently turn into clichés. And the more remote an area from our society as a whole the more deadening this reliance on yesterday's finds will become.

Strangely enough, research itself tends to slide into well-worn grooves. For decades on end, Islamic studies have largely side-stepped Indian Islam; and for generations, scholars have been hesitant to survey and analyse the social structure of the communities whose faith and history were their chosen theme.

Dr. Misra's studies on the Muslim castes of Gujarat and the history of the major sects which give Islam in that region its peculiar profile are welcome as a determined step towards neutralizing those three allied weaknesses. His book offers a wealth of new data; it opens the door to one of the least investigated sectors of the Islamic world; and it provides a rich introduction to composition and stratification of Gujarati Islam and the social realities within which the Muslim faith is lived in the complexities of an area where traditions are commingled rather than blended.

No doubt, the reader will want more than Dr. Misra has been able to give. The correlation of sect, caste, linguistic affiliation—to mention but one series of co-ordinates that emerge from his materials—will require further investigation as will the attraction which certain doctrines held and hold for certain castes, ethnic, linguistic or professional. But a beginning has been made, and this beginning has already yielded a good many results that will stand the test of further scrutiny.

The studies which Dr. Misra inaugurated and which, it must be hoped, he himself will be able to widen indicate—and this is where their promise goes beyond their actual content—that in India sociological research would seem to be free from that strange distrust of social science studies which, unfortunately, is found only too often in countries, and especially in newly independent countries, outside the Western orbit. This distrust, nursed by a blend of bad conscience, suspicion and an unwillingness to view oneself in a full-length mirror, reflects at the same time the embarrassment of the very young and the precarious self-satisfaction of the very old. Though old and young, impetuous and reflective, Indian scholarship, of which Dr. Misra's work may be taken as a representative sample, appears to have been able to fight clear of the inhibitions of false shame with the result that by viewing itself from all sides it has enriched not only that self-knowledge without which planning for the future turns futile but the possibilities of scholars and thinkers anywhere on the globe.

*Near Eastern Center  
University of California, Los Angeles.*

*G. E. VON GRUNEBaum  
Director*

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A little over four years ago, in July 1959, we started to work on a project, "Socio-Historical Survey of the Muslim Population of Gujarat". On this we worked till March 1961 and the present monograph is its result.

This work we began with certain questions in mind and with certain assumptions; these have been given later. But soon, our limitations became apparent to us. Our planning as regards the scope and objectives of our work, had been, we discovered more on the hopeful and ambitious side than on the realistic. We had little experience of field-work.

It also became clear to us that in this context and placed as we were, it would be necessary for us to devise our own methods and techniques of work. This in itself, was not free from hazards. And by the time, we had surmounted a few of these difficulties and evolved some order, we ran into serious staff difficulties. With this, our capacity to do intensive work, especially detailed field-work, became seriously inhibited.

It is with a certain sense of dissatisfaction, almost of inadequacy, therefore that this study is being presented. No finality is claimed for the facts and views presented in this, what is primarily a preliminary and exploratory endeavour. More intensive work, both historical and sociological would certainly bring to light many facts which would correct and balance this study. If this study is therefore able to attract the attention of the serious students to this inter-disciplinary field which promises rich rewards, its purpose would have been to some extent, fulfilled.

I may also be permitted to add here that nothing can be farther from our intentions than to affect the susceptibilities of any community or any group or any person. It has been our object to maintain objectivity and a desire to understand underlies the attempt which we have made. It is in this spirit therefore that I would earnestly request the following pages to be read. Criticism which would be of help in correction and further prosecution of our work would be very welcome indeed.

It is to a pleasant duty that I turn with these remarks, to a privilege which I have looked forward to, of expressing my sincere thanks to the help and encouragement which has been received from different quarters before and during the course of this work. This study would not have been possible without the funds provided by the University Grants Commission, first the Government of Bombay and later the Government of Gujarat and the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. To all these authorities, our first thanks are due for making this work possible.

I am deeply thankful to Dr. Jyotindra M. Mehta, M.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (London). Bar-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor, The M. S. University of Baroda for the keen interest he has taken in this work. He went through the typescript



and his *Foreword* does more than justice, to this a preliminary study. Of this I am conscious and deeply appreciative.

But for the unfailing encouragement and advice given by Dr. C. S. Patel, M.Sc. (Bom.), Ph.D. (Leeds), Pro-Vice-Chancellor, The M. S. University of Baroda, this study would not have seen the light of the day. For this, I am deeply grateful to him. To Shri B. K. Zutshi, M.A., LL.B., Registrar, The M. S. University of Baroda, I am thankful for smoothening out the administrative difficulties whenever they occurred.

To my colleague and friend, Dr. I. P. Desai, M.A., Ph.D. (Bom.), Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology, The M. S. University of Baroda, my debt is indeed great. The scheme of work was planned with his help and his advice and assistance was freely available during its implementation. He went through the draft of the typescript and his suggestions were invariably judicious and invaluable. To Dr. David F. Pocock, M.A. (Cantab.), D.Phil. (Oxon.), Lecturer in Indian Sociology, Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford University, I am grateful for going through portions of this work and making a number of valuable suggestions. To Dr. Colin C. Davies, formerly Reader in Indian History, Oxford University who has since then retired, I am grateful for having looked over a part of this work though his primary interest was in another work, a historical one, which I did in Oxford, with him as my Supervisor of Studies. And to the British Council which awarded me a Scholarship enabling me to stay in Oxford from October 1961 to August 1962, I must express my sincere thanks for the opportunity so provided.

During the course of this work, the Research Assistants and I had the opportunity to visit different parts of Gujarat and to meet many people. It is with deep pleasure therefore that I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation and thankfulness for the friendliness and hospitality with which we were met everywhere. Without this help and generosity, this work would not have been possible—though I must hasten to add that our kind friends are in no way responsible for anything said in this book. Indeed, some of them may be rather disappointed in this work, in the use I have made of the information made freely available to us. For this I have to request for their indulgence; I am sure that they understand my sincerity though they may regret my inability to do justice to the task.

In singling out a very few of them for special thanks, I am conscious of many others, a number of whom will not read and may not hear of this work. And first, I must mention the two men from whom I have learnt a great deal and who epitomise in themselves the culture and the learning characteristic of traditional Gujarat scholars. They are Maulana Muhammad Shakir, a man having both charm and distinction and head of the Sulaimani community in India and Pakistan with his headquarters in Baroda and to whom thus, I was able frequently to resort. The next is Kazi Syed Nuruddin Husain of Bharuch to whom I have frequently gone not only to meet a man of ripe knowledge and unfailing courtesy but also to utilise his large collection of books and manu-



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

xi

scripts. From his family records come the registers cited herein and I am grateful to him for allowing me to use it for this work. Libraries like his deserve to be preserved with institutional help.

I am thankful to Dr. Y. Najmuddin, the learned Amir-u'l-Jamia, Jamia-i-Saifiya, Surat for giving me the opportunity to meet him in Bombay and discussing some aspects of this work. To Maulwi Mohsinbhai who made this interview possible, I have to thank for this and other help.

My thanks are due to a number of friends with whom I have had the opportunity of discussing some of the problems raised in this book and seeking information on them. Among them, I may mention Shri Badruddin Blue, M.L.A. and Shri Momin Miyanji Nur Muhammad "Ruhkash" of Sidhpore: Maulana Habibur Rahman Ghaznawi, Editor *Ab-i-Hayat* and Syed Kasim Ali Piranewale of Ahmedabad: Shri A. F. Syed "Munadi", Editor *Muslim Gujarat* of Surat: Bawasabeh Riyaz Husain of Palanpur: Shri Hashimbhai of Bhuj-Kacchh: Shri Ibrahim Dargahwala of Navasari and the Qazi Saheb of Navasari: Shri Pirbhai Tai of Dabhoi: and in Baroda, friends among whom I may mention, Shri Azeem Tyabji, Shri M. H. Dayamakumar, Shri M. A. Qureshi and Maulana Muhammad Siddiq. To Shri Ismail M. Patel of Bharuch, I am thankful for some material which has been used in this book.

To my colleagues, the Research Assistants who worked on this project, I am reluctant to express my thanks since it may seem to diminish their share in this, what in a very real sense is the result of team work. They did the field-work on which this book is based and next to our kind informants, it is they who are responsible for the merits, if any, in this study. Sarvashri A. A. Kazi and H. R. Gautama worked on this project from July 1959 to February 1961 and Sarvashri Mir Mahboob Ali, A. H. Tai and G. Z. Refai from July 1959 to March 1961. Shri G. Z. Refai, at present also a Research Assistant in the Department of History in a different scheme was of much help subsequently.

It has been necessary to put this work through the press with express speed and for this as well as for the excellent get up, and production of this book I am thankful to my publishers Messrs. Asia Publishing House and the printers, Shri Ramanbhai Patel of the University (Sadhana) Press, Baroda, both of whom met my numerous demands with exemplary patience.

I am deeply thankful to Professor Gustave E. von Grunebaum, Director, Near Eastern Center, University of California, for his very kind Preface. Since it was received when this had already been composed, I have to mention my debt to him at the end of these Acknowledgements. But though last, it is not the least of our many debts, and I may be permitted to repeat my thanks to him.

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7th November 1963

S. C. MISRA

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## CONTENTS

FOREWORD	v
PREFACE	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ix
INTRODUCTION	xiii

### PART I

#### HISTORY

1. RISE OF MUSLIM POPULATION IN GUJARAT	3
2. THE BOHRA COMMUNITY AND THEIR DA'IS IN GUJARAT	15
3. THE NIZARI MISSIONARIES AND THEIR FOLLOWERS IN GUJARAT	54

### PART II

#### ACCOUNTS OF COMMUNITIES

4. THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: BRIEF NOTES	69
5. THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: DETAILED ACCOUNTS	78

### PART III

#### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

6. THE ELEMENTS OF CASTE SYSTEM IN MUSLIM SOCIETY	129
7. JAMA'TBANDI OR CASTE ORGANIZATION	139
8. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY	150
9. SOCIAL CHANGE IN RECENT YEARS	158

#### APPENDICES

"A" : KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES	173
"B" : LIST OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES AND THEIR RELATIVE STRENGTH	175
"C" : FIELD-WORK DETAILS	179
"D" : CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BOHRA DA'IS	181
QUESTIONNAIRE	183
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS	185
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	187
GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS	192
INDEX	195

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## INTRODUCTION

THE IDEA of this inquiry has its genesis in the present writer's study of Indian history, especially Indo-Muslim history. A number of studies have been made of the cultural aspect of Indo-Muslim contact through the ages but none has been made which inquired into the social aspect of this interaction, into the formation, development and nature of the Muslim communities in this country. What factors led to the formation of these communities, especially of communities which were converted from Hinduism? What were the changes which Islam wrought in the life and manners of these people? How far were the neo-converts Islamized? How far were the foreign Muslim communities, indigenized by the impact of Indian life? How and in what manner did Indian Islam shape itself not only in its ideational and cultural spheres but in the social and inter-personal spheres?

It was obvious that the techniques of historical study would not by themselves answer the questions. The problem had to be studied from documents in the historical, time sequence and also analysed by observation in the present one. For, before going back to study the history of the Muslim communities, it was necessary to be definite regarding the nature of these communities. To what extent did these intra-Muslim groups share the characteristics of the intra-Hindu divisions? Could these be called castes?

The first task was therefore to lay down the basic premises on which the inquiry could be based, to define the Muslim communities and to enumerate them. This was necessary in view of the special position of the formation of communities within the social order of Islam. Unlike Hinduism, where caste-system is an integral part of the social order, Islam is theoretically and in many aspects actually, an egalitarian socio-religious system which discourages the formation of internal groups. For this reason, it was necessary to establish the fact of the existence of socially autonomous and mutually differentiated groups and communities and examine their main characteristics and historical antecedents.

This is the main theme of this work, the preliminary phase of a task where much remains, before any conclusions can be reached.

The inquiry commenced with the data available in the Gazetteers, Census Reports, other Reports and allied literary material. For isolating Muslim communities as they exist now, it was necessary to go to the National Register of Citizens which is maintained in taluqa and municipal headquarters and in which the names, age and occupation of the residents of that town or taluqa, are listed. These records thus give the family unit according to households, surnames, educational and occupational affiliations and the community to which the persons belonged.

The compilation of data on the basis of these records was a laborious and



time consuming task which followed upon the work in the libraries. In some ways, it was also the most discouraging one. It cannot be said that these records were all or in most cases, the most up-to-date or very accurate ones nor were they conclusive insofar as the educational and occupational levels were concerned. They had been compiled in 1951, when we went to them and as is well-known, two completed and one continuing Five Year Plans have wrought significant changes in these patterns.

With these limitations nevertheless, these are the main records which give an idea of the communal configurations in any particular place. Moreover, since recent census records do not show the sub-communal differences within the Muslim community or for that matter within the Hindu community either, their value in determining the distribution of these communities, is considerable. Hence, they are indispensable for field-work in a particular place as well as independent source material for educational and occupational details. An analysis of the source material thus gathered has been presented in this report in appendices 'B', 'C' and in Chapter 4 as "Brief Notes of Communities".

As this work concluded, this data was checked and supplemented by field-work. The field-work was based upon a questionnaire which is given at the end. The investigators were asked to use this questionnaire as an aid to their case-work and to make their reports in a narrative form. Deliberately, it was not made available in a printed form which had to be filled for it was felt that greater flexibility could be possible if the investigators were allowed initiative in treating and reporting their work.

As this work proceeded, historical material was collected dealing with the historical aspect of the work, in the shape of manuscripts, documents, *jama'at* literature, pamphlets, etc. This search, it must be confessed, did not yield expected results, especially regarding the period before the eighteenth century. Canonical literature, in the form of hagiography and *malfuzat* (speeches and sayings of saints) as also biographies was occasionally encountered. In addition, modern researches in historical fields, mostly published, were also studied. This was relatively plentiful for the Isma'ili communities, dealing not so much with their history or social organization but with the ritual and doctrinal aspects of their religious life.

In the presentation of this material, this study has been divided into three parts. The first part deals in a broad survey with the history of Muslim communities in Gujarat. It is divided into three chapters. In the first, the foundation and the rise of Muslim communities in Gujarat are sketched upto the end of the fourteenth century by which time, they become too numerous and too differentiated to be treated together. The next two chapters deal with the history of first, the Bohra community and then the Khojah missionaries including the dissenting offshoots of this order in Gujarat.

The next Part is mainly ethnological giving an account of the Muslim communities in Gujarat, regarding whom information could be obtained. The first chapter in this Part contains brief notices which have been based



## INTRODUCTION

XV

upon an analysis of the population records, i.e. the National Register of Citizens. In the second chapter, details regarding thirty-three communities are given, which are based on field-work. These details are primarily concerned with the manners and customs, social volitions, dress and social organization. A number of reports are more detailed than others owing to two factors: in the first place, some communities are numerically much larger, requiring more detailed treatment; secondly, field-work was also uneven and it may be said that fuller field-work could not be done respecting a great number of communities.)

This chapter as will be seen shows glaring lacunae. This is the result of our inability to do sufficient field-work in the communities not included. If this preliminary treatment suggests the immense possibility of research work in this sphere, the object will have been served. Thus, there is no field-work account of the two major Isma'ili communities of Gujarat, the Bohra and the Khojah whose history has been sketched earlier. We have not been able to deal even cursorily with the distinctive mercantile Sunni community, the Memons. The reason again, was that we did not feel that our field-work was sufficient to enable us to treat these communities in even the bare manner, others had been done.

Most of those included, as will be noted are Sunni and if it can be said, those which do not have the sophisticated social organization and canonical literature which is possessed by the Isma'ili communities mentioned earlier.

The third and the last Part deals with the social organization of the Muslim communities and their social institutions. The first chapter here attempts an analysis of the elements of the caste-system, found atypically among the Hindus, as it is reflected in the Muslim communities. *Inter alia*, there is an attempt to conceptualize this peculiar adaptation of the Great Tradition to the Little Tradition and to find out the hierarchical spacing and social mobility within this order.

The next chapter deals with the self-administering institutions which have been thrown up by the communities for maintaining their individuality and in recent years, for furthering their educational and occupational interests. The change from the punitive *jama'tbandi* of the former era to the welfare organization of the present one, while still based on birth-determined configurations, has been noted here.

The next, eighth chapter, deals with the societal relationships within the community itself, namely, marriage and family relationships. Here, a preliminary attempt has been made to discuss the endogamous and hypergamous pattern of marriage alliances and some of the family obligations which family organization imposes on its members. Included in this chapter is a section on the communal affiliations of the marriage patterns as revealed by an analysis of the marriage records maintained by the Qazi of Bharuch, culled from a random sample, the marriage register dealing with the years 1853-55. An appendix later, gives the kinship terminology current among the Sunni Muslim



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The last chapter deals with the changes which have been coming over the Muslim communities in recent years, especially, the allied processes which are rather clumsily described as Islamization, Rationalization and Westernization. An attempt has been made to indicate the processes of social mobility and social rise and the changes that these bring in their train, especially as these processes are being manifest in the rapidly changing situation of the present days.

The appendices which follow, give first, the kinship terminology of the Muslim Communities. Then follows the list of Muslim Communities and revealed by population records, their number and strength. This is followed by a list of places where population records could be consulted and field-work done. Appendix 'D' gives a chronological list of Da'udi Bohra Dai's in India. Then is given the Questionnaire which was given to the investigators.

The limitations from which this inquiry suffered, are obvious. In the first place, field-work was inadequate. It was confined mainly to the towns of north and central Gujarat and to a lesser extent to south Gujarat. Perfunctory work could be done in Kacchh while Saurashtra remained virtually untouched. Rural areas were hardly penetrated.

Secondly, the materials on which the historical sections are based, particularly the two chapters dealing with the history of the Isma'ili communities, leave a historian dissatisfied. They are, as will be perceived, mainly secondary. But detailed treatment of a relatively not very well explored field, based on original material, was obviously beyond the compass of this, a preliminary study. Hence, it is only to give some idea of the growth of these communities in Gujarat and with the hope that they will form the stepping stones to further and detailed, individual studies, that these inadequate sketches have been attempted.

It is hoped to continue the work begun with this inquiry. With more detailed historical and sociological investigation it will be possible to have a clearer and better picture of the Muslim communities in Gujarat.

And finally, I would like to draw the attention of the reader to the "Additional Notes and Corrections" placed before the "Select Bibliography" for the incorporation of some changes of substance and for the removal of mis-prints.

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### CHAPTER 3

## THE NIZARI MISSIONARIES AND THEIR FOLLOWERS IN GUJARAT

THE SPLIT between the Nizari (Eastern i.e. the Khojah) and the Musta'li (Western i.e. the Bohra) groups took place at the end of the reign of the eighth Fatimid Khalifa, al-Mustansir-bi'l-lah (427/1035-487/1094). In 483/1091-2, al-Alamut was captured by Hasan bin Sabbah and thereupon the Nizari line was established. This stronghold was destroyed by the Mongols in 654/1256.

During and after the establishment of this centre, Nizari missionaries came into Sind and Gujarat and laid the foundations of the Nizari and allied communities in India. In Gujarat, they made a notable contribution; a brief analysis of their history is therefore made in the following pages.

It may be noted that original sources for this study are virtually non-existent or have not yet come to light. What are available, are *Shajras* (genealogies), traditions and the brief and tantalizing data vouchsafed by the *Gnans*, ascribed to the *pirs*. It is therefore difficult to be certain especially regarding dates; and the plentifulness of miracles ascribed to the *pirs* strains the credence of the scientific student.

The line of Nizari *da'is* who came to Gujarat starts with Nur Satgur, the first to arrive in this land. As noticed earlier, he is said to have come into Gujarat in the reign of Siddharaj Jayasingha (1094-1143). As such, he would have closely followed the foundation of Nizari power in al-Alamut.

Nur Satgur is also reported to be a forerunner of the line of what in Satpantni literature are regarded as *pirs* and in Khojah literature as *da'is* which led to the propagation of this faith. This genealogy is difficult to ascertain for a number of varying versions are given. The most prominent are as under.

As given by the *Mirati-i-Ahmadi*: (1) Isma'il, (2) Syed Nur-u'd-din Muhammad, (3) Isma'il II, (4) Syed Mansur, (5) Syed Ghalib, (6) Syed 'Abd-u'l Majid, (7) Syed Jamal Mustansir-bi'l-lah, (8) Syed Ahmad Hadi, (9) Syed Hashim, (10) Syed Muhammad, (11) Syed Mahmud, (12) Syed Muhib-u'd-din, (13) Syed Khalid, (14) Syed 'Abd-u'l Momin, (15) Syed Islam-u'd-din, (16) Syed Salah-u'd-din Salib, and (17) Syed Shams-u'd-din.<sup>1</sup>

The official Khojah history of Imams as given in the *Nur-u'm-Mobin*, on the basis of the *Gulzar-i-Shams*: (1) Isma'il, (2) Nur-u'd-din Mahmud, (3) Mustansir-bi'l-lah, (4) Isma'il II, (5) Muhammad Mansur, (6) Ghalib-din, (7) Mustansir-bi'l-lah, (8) Ahmad Hadi, (9) Hashim Shah, (10) Muhammad Shah, (11) Mahmud Shah, (12) Muhib-din, (13) Khalid-din, (14) 'Abd-u'l-Momin, (15) Islam-u'd-

<sup>1</sup> (Mirat-i-Ahmadi) *Khatimah*, 123.



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din, (16) Salih-din, (17) Salah-din, and (18) Shams-u'd-din.<sup>2</sup>

As given in the *Tawarikh-i-Pir* by Pirzada Syed Sadr-u'd-din H. Dargahwala of the *Dargah* of Nur Satgur in Navasari, most probably on the basis of nineteenth century Persian work, *Manazil-u'l-aqtab*: (1) Isma'il, (2) Syed Nur-u'd-din Muhammad or Nur Satgur, (3) Syed Isma'il Raza, (4) Syed Mansur Muhammad, (5) Syed Ghalib, (6) Syed 'Abd-u'l Majid, (7) Syed Mustafa, (8) Syed Ahmad Hadi, (9) Syed Hashim, (10) Syed Muhammad, (11) Syed Mahmud, (12) Syed Khalid, (13) Syed Momin, (14) Syed Islam-u'd-din, (15) Syed Salah-u'd-din, and (16) Syed Shams-u'd-din.<sup>3</sup>

In *Khojah Vrattant*, the author traces this line under the heading 'Genealogy of Pirs', as distinct from the line of Shahs, under which the line of Imams has been traced. (1) Pir Nabi Muhammad Mustafa, (2) Pir Imam Husain, (3) Pir Kasim Shah, (4) Pir Ahmad Ali, (5) Pir Satgur Nur, (6) Pir Imam-u'd-din, (7) Pir Muhammad Mansur, (8) Pir Ghalib-din, (9) 'Abd-u'l Aziz, (10) Pir Mustansir-bi'l-lah, (11) Pir Ahmad Hadi, (12) Pir Kasim Shah, (13) Pir Muhammad, (14) Pir Mahmud, (15) Pir Muhib-din, (16) Pir Khaliq din, (17) Pir 'Abd-u'l Momin, (18) Pir Islam din, (19) Pir Salla-u'd-din, and (20) Pir Shams-u'd-din.<sup>4</sup>

As given in *The Life of Pir Masha'ikh Chishti*: (1) Isma'il, (2) Nur Muhammad, (3) Isma'il II, (4) Muhammad Mansur, (5) Ghalib-u'd-din, (6) 'Abd-u'l Majid, (7) Mustafa, (8) Ahmad Hadi, (9) Hashim, (10) Khalid, (11) Momin Shah, (12) Islam-u'd-din, (13) Salih-u'd-din, and (14) Shams-u'l-Haq.<sup>5</sup>

According to Isma'ili sources, Isma'il's concealment began in 145/762-3 and his death took place seven years later. For Pir Shams, the following dates are given: Birth, Sha'ban 15, 560/June 27, 1165; in Sind, 665/1266-7; death, Ramzan 21, 675/February 26, 1277. (*Tawarikh-i-Pir*). In *Nur-u'm-Mobin*, only the year of his death is given as 757/1356; in the *Shajara* found by Ivanow, the dates were: birth, Rajab 17, 560/May 30, 1165; in Multan, 598/1201: death 675/1276.<sup>6</sup>

It is evident that the value of these genealogies for historical research is not very great. Firstly, no early Arab source indicates that Isma'il had another son, Nur-u'd-din Muhammad, other than his successor Muhammad. Further,

<sup>2</sup> Chunara, Ali Muhammad Wazir Muhammad, *Noor-u'm-Mobin*, (4th Edition, Isma'ili Society for India, Bombay, 1961), 311.

<sup>3</sup> Pirzada, Syed Sadr-u'd-din *Tawarikh-i-Pir*, Vol. II. (Muslim Gujarat Press, Navasari, 1935, 23-4. The author also gives the other version on pages 265-72. This latter version is reproduced in popular Satpanthi literature like the *Dashtari al-Gayatri*, with minor variations (Pirana pamphlet *Satpanthi Agna-patra*, 60-1).

<sup>4</sup> Nanjiani, Sachedina *Khojah Vrattant* (Samsher Bahahur Press, Ahmedabad, 1892), 258-62.

<sup>5</sup> Ibrahim, Pir Muhammad *Masha'ikh Chishti-nu-Jiwan-Charitra* (Author, 348, Bapat Road, Bombay-8, 1372/1953), 100.

<sup>6</sup> Ivanow, W. "Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat," *JBBRAS*, XII (1936), p. 32; Chunara, op. cit. 318.



if this son is identified as Nur Satgur then he hardly could have been a Nizari *da'i* or have come in the reign of Siddharaj Jayasingha, about three centuries later. Neither is it clear how Mustansir-bi'l-lah comes to be included in this list; the list in *Nur-u'm-Mobin* mentions two such personages rather than one. In *Khojah Vrantant* the reference appears to be not to parentage but to initiation; later this line merges into that of the *Imams*.

Other versions of the genealogy are also available but are of no greater veracity. In one, Pir Shams is made out to be the same person as Shams-u'd-din Muhammad Shah, the Isma'ili Imam, the son of the last Alamut Imam; in another, he is said to have been descended from Musa-Kazim, the seventh Isna' ashari Imam.<sup>7</sup>

From Pir Shams onwards the line is fairly clear though the dates are not. It is as under:

(1) Syed Shams-u'd-din, (2) Syed Nasir-u'd-din, (3) Syed Shahab-u'd-din, (4) Syed Sadr-u'd-din Mahmud, (5) Syed Hasan Kabir-u'd-din, and (6) Syed Imam-u'd-din.<sup>8</sup> From him springs the Imamshahi line of Syeds, with their headquarters at Pirana.

From Hasan Kabir-u'd-din also begins the line of *pirs*, which in the eighteenth century produced Pir Mashaikh, the Pir of the Momnas of north Gujarat.

(1) Syed Hasan Kabir-u'd-din, (2) Syed Rahmat-u'l-lah, (3) Syed Mashaikh the Elder, (4) Syed 'Abu'l Hasan, (5) Syed Zain-Nu'd-din, (6) Syed Sadr-u'd-din, (7) Syed Muhammad Fazil Shah, and (8) Syed (Pir) Mashaikh.<sup>9</sup>

According to a Satpanthi text quoted in *Pirana Panth*, Nur Satgur is reported to have come to Gujarat on Chaitra 6, 883 vs/April 1,826/Zi'l-hujja 18, 210.<sup>10</sup> In *Nur-u'm-Mobin* it is stated that he was sent by al-Mustansir-bi'l-lah himself in 462/1069-70<sup>11</sup> to work for Nizar in India. We have already seen the highly improbable story of his being a son of Isma'il, a fact which has been doubted but is accepted uncritically by the Satpanthis.<sup>12</sup>

It is difficult to understand why Khalifa al-Mustansir should have sent Nur Satgur to propagate for a partisan schism which was not in existence then and which, it would be reasonable to expect him to crush, if he had the power to do so. Rather, this appears to be an explanation for Nur Satgur's arrival in Gujarat much before the rise of the Nizari sect itself. What appears to be more likely is that he came later from al-Alamut, probably soon after

<sup>7</sup> Ivanow, op. cit. 32.

<sup>8</sup> Ibrahim, op. cit. 100.

<sup>10</sup> *Pirana Satpanth-ni Pol* (Very rare, author Limbani, Narayanji Ramjibhai and publisher not known) p. 117, quoting a Ms. *Hazrat Hasan Husain-nu Kursinamo*.

<sup>11</sup> Chunara, op. cit. 207-8.

<sup>12</sup> Pirzada, op. cit. 38. This is accepted as truth in all Satpanthi literature.



the foundation of Nizari power there.

Moreover, had he arrived then, he would have had no contact with Siddharaj Jayasingha for he came to the throne in 1094, a year after the foundation of al-Alamut. Even this fact seems to be unfounded; no less than three Muslim missionaries claim to have converted the most famous ruler of Rajput Gujarat to their own form of Islam. But according to all available accounts, Siddharaj died a devout Saiva.

In view of these facts, Nur Satgur's figure is one which is more legendary than real, at least in determinable historical terms. No doubt, some time in the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., an Isma'ili *pir* arrived to sow the seeds of Nizari Isma'ilism in Gujarat and was buried in Navasari. More than that is legend rather than history.

In *Nur-u'm-Mobin*, the year of his death is given as 487/1094, the year in which Siddharaj came to the throne.<sup>13</sup>

Pir Shams, in Khojah and Satpanthi literature has been confounded both with Shams Tabrizi and Imam Shams-u'd-din. Born in Sabzwar (Isfizar), a town south of Herat,<sup>14</sup> he is stated to have had a life span of 115 years; another version provides him with an unbearably long life of nearly two centuries. He is said to have been active in Sind and Kashmir where his followers are; his mausoleum is at Multan.

The life of Pir Shams is known only by the numerous *mua'zes* or miracles said to have been performed by him. He is reported to have crossed a river in a paper boat along with his disciples and made horns grow on the head of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din who looked upon this performance and its author with envy. He brought a dead boy back to life by his order when he failed to get up on invoking God's name; and when this was interpreted as blasphemy, and he was sentenced to be skinned alive, he himself stripped off his skin, by his *chowt*, hair knot and handed it over. He also brought the *Shams*, the Sun, down to cook for him a piece of meat.<sup>15</sup>

Nearly the whole of it is legend, fiction rather than fact. Almost nothing is known of the actual life of Pir Shams except for the fact that he lived between the second half of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth. He is said to have gone to Kashmir and Tibet on proselytizing missions; and a number of *garbas* ascribed to him are a part of Satpanthi literature.

Pir Sadr-u'd-din is the founder of the Khojah community in India. He started his work in Sind and is said to have made a deep study of Hindu religious texts for his purpose. He visited Iran and met the Imam Islam Shah near Isfhan; from him he obtained the permission to appoint *Mukhis* and *Kamadias*.

<sup>13</sup> Chunara, op. cit. 38.

<sup>14</sup> Ivanow, op. cit. 31-2.

<sup>15</sup> Chunara, op. cit. 311-18. Pirzada, op. cit. 75-83.



He established the first *jam'atkhana* at Kotdi. Evidently, by his time the followers had become sufficient in number to require an independent organization and establishment of their own.

It is difficult to be certain on this point but it appears that with him also started the shift which was to adapt Islam to the needs of the proselytizing missionaries and the proselytized community. In Gujarat, the new faith was accepted by the Lohanas; to convince them, he gave to his faith, the designation of Satpanth or the true way. For himself, he took Hindu names of Sahdeva and Harichand; all his three names are often repeated in the Satpanthi *gnans*.

Pir Sadr-u'd-din died in a village called Ucchh Sharif in Bahawalpore. Dates regarding his life are very uncertain; in *Tawarikh-i-Pir*, his date of birth is given as Rabi I, 2, 650/May 13, 1252 and the date of death as Rajab 12, 770/February 20, 1369.<sup>16</sup> In *Nur-u'm-Mobin* Rabi I, 2, 700/November 15, 1300 is given as his date of birth while that of his death is given as Rajab 12, 819/September 5, 1416.<sup>17</sup> In the *Shajara* consulted by Ivanow, these dates are: 689/1290 and 782/1380.<sup>18</sup>

Pir Sadr-u'd-din is the *second* great *pir* of this order in Gujarat; his son, Hasan Kabir-u'd-din, is the third one. He is said to have met the *Imam* early in life and earned his favour by presenting his headgear to him. His field of activities was mainly Sind and he died in Ucchh.

The *Nur-u'm-Mobin* gives the year of his birth as Sha'ban 22, 742/Jan. 21, 1342 and of his death as Safar 853/April 1449.<sup>19</sup> In *Tawarikh-i-Pir*, only the year of his death is given on the basis of a *gnan* in the Vikram year as Kartik 17 (badi 2), 1550/Muharram 15, 899/October 26, 1493.<sup>20</sup>

Hasan Kabir-u'd-din had eighteen sons, of which his youngest son Imam Shah became the most famous in Gujarat. He was the founder of the Imam Shahi sect which was accepted by a number of the agrarian and pastoral communities in Gujarat, Khandesh and western Madhya Pradesh. His mausoleum in Pirana, ten miles from Ahmedabad continues to be place of reverence for a large number of Satpanthi followers. His life or what we know of it, may therefore be sketched in more detail.

In *Tawarikh-i-Pir*, his date of birth is given as Rabi II, 27, 856/May 17, 1452/Vaisakha badi 13, 1509. He is said to have arrived in Gujarat in Bhadarwa Sudi 11, 1508/Shah'ban 1, 655/September 6, 1451. He initiated Punja Singh of Bhavanagar into the Satpanthi way in 878/1530-31, another disciple Naya Kaka on Kartik Vadi 1, 1510/Shawwal 14, 857/October 18, 1453. In 1512/859-60/1455-56, he married Bibi Khadija, the daughter of Syed Muhammad Bukhari of the Bukhari Syeds of Batwa. In 1524/871-2/1466-67, his seat was established at Pirana. He is said to have died on Ramzan 26, 919/November

<sup>16</sup> Pirzada, op. cit. 83-99.

<sup>18</sup> Ivanow, op. cit. 34.

<sup>20</sup> Pirzada, op. cit. 99-101.

<sup>17</sup> Chunara, op. cit. 321-5.

<sup>19</sup> Chunara, op. cit. 325.



ber 25, 1513/Kartik badi 10, 1570.<sup>21</sup>

At the time of his father's death, he is also said to have been nineteen (lunar) years of age. By this calculation, his birth should have taken place in either 834/1430-31 or 880/1475-76.

On the basis of the *Manazil-u'l-aqtab*, Ivanow gives the following dates: birth, Rabi I, 27, 856/April 17, 1452 or Jamada II, 11, 856/June 29, 1452. He went to Kirman, returned to India and came to Gujarat in 875/1470-71. He died in Pirana on Ramzan 27, 919/November 11, 1513.<sup>22</sup>

Legends firmly connect the name of Imam Shah with the greatest of the Sultans of Gujarat, Mahmud Begda (863/1458-917/1511). After receiving his 'share' from the beir of his father, a rosary and a piece of sugar, and being instructed to go to the mausoleum of Ja'far as-Sadiq, if he wished for more, he proceeded to Kirman and was received by the Imam Muhammad bin Islam Shah. In the *Nur-u'm-Mobin*, it is said, he failed to receive the *piranata* authorization which had already been granted to his uncle Pir Taj-u'd-din;<sup>23</sup> according to *Tawarikh-i-Pir*, he was told that he did not need it but was anyhow invested with both *batini* and *zahiri* knowledge.<sup>24</sup> He then visited the tomb of Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq and returned to Sind. Here his claims were denied by the Khojahs and in Lun they failed to serve him; after three days of fasting, he was entertained by a Khoja called Premji.

From here he started for Gujarat, accompanied by his attendant Hazir Beg, whose tomb now lies in front of his mausoleum. From here also begins a long list of miracles. At Atuda, he was asked why he did not pray and replied by making the minaret of the mosque bend in prayer for him. Being apprised of this Mahmud Begda called him and tested him by serving him with cat's meat; on Imam Shah's call, it jumped alive out of his plate and ran away. He then told Mahmud Shah, "Now thou art lost (Begda)". It is from this that the Sultan got this epithet. He forgave the Sultan and accepted nothing except a bullock cart. On arrival on the banks of the Sabarmati river and on the refusal of the boatman to carry him across, he made the waters bifurcate, making way for him to go across.

He then arrived at Giramtha; here there was no rain for two years but on his *du'a* (prayers), rain-filled clouds were sighted and rains started; even grass sprouted from the ground to supply fodder to starved cattle. He then shot an arrow which fell at the place where his mausoleum now stands; a tiger and its mate had been guarding it but they respectfully saluted the *pir* and left the place. From that time, it came to be known as *Pir-ana* (coming of the *pir*).

<sup>21</sup> Pirzada op. cit. 103-8. The use of *Hijri* and *Samvat* calendars, as will be noticed, is inconsistent.

<sup>22</sup> Ivanow, op. cit. 39-43.

<sup>23</sup> Chunara, op. cit. 334-5.

<sup>24</sup> Syed, Kasimali Durweshali *Satpanth Shastra* (Patel Taljibhai Nanjibhai Gorkhampa, Gujarat, 1945), 25-35. Pirzada, op. cit. 103-7. Nanjiani, op. cit. 215-26.



By now the *pir* had attracted crowds of followers. A large concourse of Hindus, going to Kashi on pilgrimage chanced to camp at Giramtha. Imam Shah offered them to get it done there itself and the people agreed to accept him as *pir* if he saved them the trouble of undertaking the long journey. They remained that night at Pirana and the next morning they found themselves in Kashi. Here they made the usual rounds and completed the rites and ceremonies required of pilgrims; and when they woke up the next morning, they were in Pirana.

This was Imam Shah's greatest achievement; the *janoi's*, sacred threads discarded on this occasion by his newly enrolled disciples weighed one and a quarter maunds !

Subsequently, Mahmud Begda married his daughter to Imam Shah's eldest son, Nur Muhammad. He then got his mausoleum built. During the period of construction, he used to sit in a small room opposite the rising building. A few of the labourers thought that under his seat Bawa Imam Shah must have a hoard of money. They dug it up in vain and filled up the hole. Next evening they were paid double wages and they joined the Satpanthi faith.

At the time when the *dargah* was nearing completion, Imam Shah had five servitors; Hazar Beg, Bhabha Ram, Naya Kaka, Shana Kaka and Chichi bai. To the first he said, that he would die with his master and lie at twenty steps from him; and the followers would first offer flowers to him and then to Imam Shah; and that his tomb would always remain cool. Bhabha Ram was instructed to stay in a village in Petlad *pargana* and Naya Kaka in Kanam. Shana Kaka alone was asked to continue in Pirana.

Imam Shah laid the foundation of that syncretic sect, the Imam Shahi, which had a considerable influence on the agrarian communities of Gujarat, including the rise of a new Hindu community, the Matia Kanbis. Here we may complete the biographical notices of the subsequent *pirs* of this order.

Imam Shah had four sons and a daughter, all of whom except Nur Muhammad Shah or as he is called in the Satpanthi texts, Nar Muhammad Shah, died in his lifetime. He was married to the daughter of Mahmud Shah Begda; he had two sons by this marriage, Syed Mustafa and Syed Shahab-u'd-din; their progeny is known by the name of Imamshahi Syeds and have inherited the Pirana establishment. He had another son by his marriage with the daughter of Punjansinha, a Rajput of Bhavanagar; he was named Syed Khan and his progeny, known as Syed Khani, are in Burhanpur, Navasari and Ahmedabad. They have no share in the property and disciples of Pirana since Syed Khan founded an independent line from his headquarters at Navasari.<sup>25</sup>

Imam Shah is reported to have said in his approximations to make his faith appear as the original Hindu form, that Nur Satgur was Brahma and he

<sup>25</sup> Pirzada, op. cit. 126-31.



himself the incarnation of Indra, and his son Nar Muhammad Shah was the avatar of Vishnu, the foremost deity of the Hindu pantheon, especially for the Vaishnavas. This served a double purpose; among the poorer classes which accepted the Satpanthi faith, a half-way-house between Islam and Hinduism, Nar Muhammad Shah was exalted to a station equivalent to the revered Hindu figures like Ram and Krishna, who themselves had been similar incarnations; and by implication, it rendered this line independent of their allegiance to the Isma'ili Imam for it placed the highest station attainable, vis-a-vis the newly enrolled followers, in the line of Imam Shah himself.

It is doubtful if the despatch of the *dasondh* to the head of the Isma'ili mission in India was continued by Imam Shah. From the account given in the *Nur-u'm-Mobin*, it appears that Imam Shah was not given the authorization, the *piranata*, for which he had gone to the Imam.<sup>26</sup> The implication therefore is that he started on his mission on his own. As such, he could have hardly continued the traditional practice; and besides, the approximation of Hindu divinities to himself and his line without reference to the Imam suggests a degree of independence which is certainly not in keeping with the status of an agent.

Moreover, in the teachings of Imam Shah, especially in the *Dashtari Gayatri* and elsewhere where genealogical details are mentioned, no mention is made of the line of Imams. In the account of the last avatar, of 'Shri Murtuza Ali', the descent is traced directly to 'Syed Sadgaur Patra Brahma Indra Imamshah' and 'Adivishnu Niranjan Narali Mahmudshah'.<sup>27</sup>

In addition, it is to be noted in these genealogies that the word *Imam* is used only up to Imam Nur Satgur bin Imam Isma'il. After that the word *Syed* is used. By implication therefore subsequent *Imams* are not recognized; and it could not be so since the line proceeds in the direction of the Imamshahi *Syeds* without referring either to the Fatimid, Musta'li or Nizari Imams.<sup>28</sup>

In the *Manazil-u'l-aqtab*, Nar Muhammad Shah is said to be responsible for separating his followers from the main Isma'ili stock. He is also regarded as the last *Imam* of the Satpanthis.<sup>29</sup> His main work is the *Satveni* a collection of poems mainly of moral and instructive nature, many of them of considerable poetic worth.<sup>30</sup>

In the *Manazil*, 940/1533-4 is given as the year of his death; in the *Tawarikh-i-Pir*, it is given as Rajab 21, 940/February 5, 1534.<sup>31</sup>

From the *Shajara* in the possession of Shri Kasim Ali of Pirana, it appears

<sup>26</sup> Chunara, op. cit. 334.

<sup>27</sup> Syed, op. cit. 51: *Chetamni of Imam Shah* (Ed. Syed Shamsuddin Bawasaheb, Satpanthi Mukhi Kanjibhai Ratnabhai, Ahmedabad, 2012/1956), 136-44.

<sup>28</sup> Vide Notes 1 to 3 above.

<sup>29</sup> Ivanow, op. cit. 43-5.

<sup>30</sup> Published as *Moti Sutra Veni* in Pirana literature (publisher as of *Chetamani*).

<sup>31</sup> Ivanow, op. cit. 43, 45. Pirzada, op. cit. 121-6.

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Actual Page No. 62

60

## MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN GUJARAT

that Jalal-u'd-din succeeded Nar Muhammad Shah in Pirana; this seems to have been an occasion for mutual dissensions. Sa'id Khan however appears to have been the most prominent of the Syeds; but due to the machinations of the Syeds he had to stay mostly outside Pirana; his proselytizing mission is said to have had a tremendous effect.

By this time, the system of Kakas had taken root in Pirana and the dissensions had multiplied. In the reign of Aurangzeb, the *sajjadnashin* at Pirana was called by Aurangzeb as the news of his heretical practices reached him. Shahji Miran, was unwilling to go out the express summons of the Emperor left little option. He proceeded to Ahmedabad but there suddenly expired before he could proceed further. Probably, he poisoned himself or he died of shock. The tragic death of the Syed resulted in the rebellion of his Hindu followers, which is described in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* as the *fisada-i-mati'ya*.<sup>32</sup>

The subsequent history of the Syeds is of little interest except for illustrating the peculiar system of administration evolved to administer the properties and *dasondh* which came to Pirana. Almost every Syed is credited with great success in his missionary activities; and several centres, especially in Navasari, and Bahadurpur near Burhanpur, were established by the effort of these Syeds.

Another branch of the Isma'ili Syeds, which produced a *pir* remarkable for his influence on the agricultural Muslim communities of north Gujarat, sprang from Imam Shah's nephew, the son of his brother Rahmat-u'l-lah Shah.

According to the Satpanthi legends, Bibi Khadijah, the wife of Imam Shah, sent Mukhi Kheta to Lahore to call the nephew of her husband, Pir Masha'ikh bin Pir Rahmat-u'l-lah Shah. Pir Masha'ikh arrived in Gujarat with his son Pir 'Ab-u'l Hasan and Bibi Khadijah gave him a daughter from her family. As a part of the dowry, she gave him 'eighteen thousand *pagdis*', led by Mukhi Kheta. The *jama't* accepted Pir Masha'ikh as their *pir* but soon after he left Gujarat for his ancestral home, Lahore. He is said to have been poisoned on the way and his mausoleum is in Delhi.<sup>33</sup>

It seems that differences arose early between Pir Masha'ikh and his cousins for he left Pirana and took up his residence in Kadi; the locality of his residence is still known as *Momnapura*. In *Nur-u'm-Mobin*, it is suggested that Bibi Khadijah desired Pir Masha'ikh to carry on the independent *silsilah* established by her husband but this was declined by Pir Masha'ikh thus causing a break between the Imamshahi Syeds and their cousins. Since Pir Masha'ikh's son Pir 'Ab-u'l Hasan remained in Kadi, his descendants were known as the *Kadiwal Syeds*.

Fifth in the line of Pir Masha'ikh was Pir Masha'ikh II—the *pir* of the major part of the Momna community of north Gujarat. He was born in a village

<sup>32</sup> *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* I, 320-4.

<sup>33</sup> Ibrahim, op. cit. 3-4. Also referred to in *Sara-u'l-Atkiya*, written in 1752, in the possession of the Sajjadnashin of the dargah of Shah 'Alam in Batwa: in pp. 35-41.



named Japtil near Kadi, on Rabi II, 13, 1060/April 15, 1650. While he was only nine years of age, his father Syed Fazil Shah died and it appears that the young boy had to face a great deal of hardship. He grew up in Mominpura in Kadi and subsequently settled in Ahmedabad, at a place near the Sarangpur Gate, where his *dargah* now stands.

In his early youth, Pir Masha'ikh appears to have neglected his studies presumably due to his hard circumstances. Having become conscious of it, he prayed sincerely and his prayer was answered. In a short time, he became proficient in 'ilm.<sup>34</sup>

Pir Masha'ikh was keenly concerned about the ignorance of his followers and the undesirable practices current among them. To eliminate them and to educate them in the right way, he wrote thirteen works in verse. This he is said to have commenced on Jamad I, 1099/March 1688 and completed in three years.<sup>35</sup> They are as under:

1. *Nurnama*: Contains an account of the Prophet and other Prophets as well, also autobiographical details.
2. *Mu'arijanama*: Mainly eschatological; also contains details of the Islamic faith and its superiority over others.
3. *Ghazawat*: Early history of Islam and the difficulties experienced by the Prophet in his mission.
4. *Girdi'yah*: An account of the Prophet and his family and their descendants.
5. *Mu'azzizat*: On miracles; it also contains an account of Pir Masha'ikh's journey to the Deccan when Aurangzeb was engaged in the campaign against Bijapur and Golconda and relates his prayers for the Emperor and his success.
6. *Wisalnama*: An account of the last sickness and death of the Prophet and the events accompanying them.
7. *Khulfa-i-Rashidin*: Account of the first four Khalifas with observations on the Sunni and Shi'a sects.
8. *Maqtulnama Part I*: On the life of *Imams* Husain and Hasan and the difficulties experienced by them.
9. *Maqtulnama Part II*: On the last days of Imam Husain; also contains notices of the Twelve Ithna-Ashari Imams.
10. *I'man Part I*: On the Momins and their origin and conditions on the faith and its observances; and on *pirs* and their duties.
11. *I'man Part II*: On *Hadith*, eschatology and religious law; mainly directives regarding the proper conduct of life.

<sup>34</sup> Ibrahim, op. cit 4-5. Pirzada op. cit. 148. To the latter, the gift of knowledge was given by means of a miracle.

<sup>35</sup> This list is given on the authority of the *Masha'ikh Chishti nu Jiwan Charitra* (11-16). Both the reformists and the traditionalists are issuing their versions of his works and it is difficult to be certain of their number and contents unless a careful search for manuscript material is made. Tradition ascribes to him manuscript material which weighed eighteen maunds.



12. *Ibadat Part I*: On religious law and on the proper discharge of religious duties; contains the prescribed duties proper for all occasions and their proper conduct.

13. *Ibadat Part II*: Continues and finishes the preceding part; the first is concerned with *ghusal*, *wuzu*, *azan*, *namaz*, their proper discharge; the second deals with *zakat*, *roza* and *haj*. It also deals with *nikah* and its dissolution, slaughtering of animals for food and the proper form in which they have to be done.

In an eighteenth century hagiological work, Pir Masha'ikh is said to have taken twelve years to complete these works and these works are held in high respect by his followers. They are written in Hindi, Gujarati and Urdu.<sup>36</sup>

The composition of these works in verse for the enlightenment of his followers was the great work of Pir Masha'ikh. His effort evidently was to introduce among them a greater degree of Islamization by ridding them of their Hindu practices and by informing them of the Islamic traditions. All his works were set in metre since they were intended for oral communication.

Pir Masha'ikh is also said to have visited Aurangzeb in the Deccan and prayed for his victory over Bijapur and Golconda. After the conquest of Bijapur, he is also said to have foretold the date of the fall of Golconda. This won him the favour and regard of the Emperor.<sup>37</sup>

In his last days, he stayed mostly at Ahmedabad, engaged in the composition of his works. He died at the early age of forty-two in Ahmedabad on Ramzan 21, 1108/April 12, 1697. His mausoleum stands outside the Sarangpur gate in that city.

During the last forty or fifty years, a number of Pir Masha'ikh's followers have shifted from their allegiance to the descendants of their *pir*. This schism has centred round the faith of Pir Masha'ikh himself: was he a Shi'a or a Sunni?

From his writings, it is clear that Pir Masha'ikh was against the type of half-Hindu Muslim converts made by Imam Shah and his descendants. His effort was to remove the vestiges of such *kufir* among his own followers. He had also completely given up the Isma'ili faith of his forbears.

It is difficult to decide his affiliations; in his books, he gives unmistakable evidence of his being a Sunni, especially in books which have been published by those who have seceded from the main stock. Further, his *silsilah* of *pirs* is traced to Khwajah Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti, which militates against his being anything but a Sunni. And finally, his partiality for Aurangzeb against the Shi'a Sultans of the Deccan indicates his proclivities.<sup>38</sup>

But this is explained by his Shi'a followers, especially the followers of his lineal descendant Hazar Pir Maulana Zahir Husain, as a *taqaiyyah* against the religious policy of Aurangzeb. Further, his descendants have been Shi'as and

<sup>36</sup> *Sara'-u'l-Atkiya*, 35-41.

<sup>38</sup> *Idem* 101-02.

<sup>37</sup> Ibrahim, op. cit. 93-107.

so have been the majority of his followers; and this would have been hardly possible, had he been a Sunni.

As it is, bitter controversy has raged among the Momna leaders on this point. It has led to litigation too between the secessionists and Pir Mehr Husain about the ownership of the *dargah* and mosque of Pir Masha'ikh. Pir Mehr Husain denied its use to the secessionists but his claims were rejected and the mosque with the property attached to it was declared to be *waqf* for the use of the Momin *jama'at* as a whole.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Idem 124-8.